

Mayor Mike McGinn

2012 Proposed Budget Speech

Delivered in Council Chambers, September 26, 2011

(As written)

Council members, guests, and the people of Seattle: Good afternoon. I am pleased to be here with you to talk about our priorities as a city, and how our budget can best serve the people of Seattle.

Earlier today I spoke about the 2012 budget at Seattle Central Community College. I went there because I believe that it is our job as elected leaders to work in the public's interest - and to hold ourselves accountable to the public above all others.

I also went there because education is so central to how we deal with our challenges. And let's not kid ourselves or sugarcoat the challenges we face.

The recession may be over according to the economists, but it doesn't feel like it to most people. It is the longest, deepest recession since the Great Depression, and we are still in the trough it caused. We have recovered 10,000 jobs in Seattle since the economy hit bottom, but that was after losing 35,000 jobs. We still have a long way to go to replace those jobs.

We have seen signs of life in local construction. Permit applications for new buildings are up. For the first time in a while, private capital is coming off the sidelines in Seattle to invest in new apartment and office buildings. But this is occurring against a backdrop

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of division and rancor in the federal government. A manufactured debt crisis and political paralysis led to a drop in the Federal government's bond ratings.

President Obama is fighting for spending on jobs, while Republicans fight to protect tax cuts for the wealthy and for deep cuts to help for the needy. National and international events could create an even stronger economic current for Seattle to swim against.

The challenge is not just in how slowly we are recovering from the Great Recession. It is the accompanying inequality and injustice. It is always true that bad times are harder on the poor. But we have not seen income inequality this great since 1928, the year before the Great Depression started. The top 1% control 34% of the nation's wealth. The top 10% control 2/3rds of the nation's wealth.

It feels like an unprecedented grab by the most powerful to get a bigger share of a shrinking pie. Look at our own state. We have the most regressive state and local tax system in the nation. The top 1% of earners pay 2.6% of their income on state and local taxes. If you make less than 20,000, you pay over 17% of your income in state and local taxes. Those liberals old enough to remember Reagan remember how we opposed proposals for a "flat tax" because it was not progressive enough. It turns out even a flat tax would be a lot more fair than the regressive tax system that we have today in Washington State.

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Council members, we know that it is particularly challenging for us, because we have to use the taxing tools the state gives us, we cannot create our own. Which means we have to focus on ensuring our spending and policies reflects our progressive values. In that regard, thank you Nick Licata and the council for your support of sick leave legislation.

Olympia is facing a budget challenge too - and to date, Tim Eyman has been setting the priorities. The State just announced it has another two billion dollar deficit. As the state grapples with these challenges, the question I ask you, and I ask you to ask your friends: "Do any of us really think that deep cuts to education and to people in need is going to reverse this economic spiral?" The people who will be hardest hit by the State budget cuts -- they aren't the people that broke this economy. And we aren't going to fix it by sticking it to them even more. We must find a better way.

Councilmembers, like you I am out in the community, walking neighborhoods, holding town halls, listening to people. There is pain, frustration, occasionally anger. There is deep concern about the future. But there is also a lot of hope and energy in Seattle. A lot of passion, creativity and talent. I review these facts about our economy, as troubling as they are, because I submit to you that we need to be resolved to partner with our community to honestly confront them. To choose budget and policy priorities

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that address inequity, to give people opportunity and hope, and to widen the circle of prosperity.

Like the Feds and the State, here in Seattle we are facing budget challenges. 2012 is the fourth consecutive year that the City of Seattle is facing budget reductions. We started the budget process facing a \$25 million budget deficit in 2012. First, a little good news – that deficit is brought down to \$18 million because we have tightly managed our budget this year and will have \$7 million to apply to the 2012 budget. However, because of continued national and global economic weaknesses, even after we balance the budget for 2012, we project a deficit for 2013 of \$32.8 million, and \$39.2 million in 2014.

The budget I am proposing will be balanced for 2012. And we are doing so with an eye towards setting a foundation to address the challenges of future year budget balancing.

I want to be clear, however, that this budget is about more than balancing revenues and expenditures in difficult times. It is about our priorities. It is about our morals. And it is about the concrete steps we will take to build a better Seattle.

If all we do is lunge toward bringing our spending in line with our revenues, we do a disservice to the public. Our goal is to focus our spending on outcomes that matter.

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That preserves spending for priorities. And gives us the tools for a more equitable and prosperous city.

Here are my priorities, as reflected in this budget.

We need to focus on the health and safety of our youth, and their education for the future.

We will focus on jobs, job training and supporting economic activity.

We will continue to work to give people transportation and transit choices.

We will protect the vulnerable.

We will protect public safety.

And we will partner with the public whenever possible to achieve these outcomes.

Here is what this budget does:

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1. We are maintaining current funding levels for Human Services contracts, and backfilling funding for homeless shelters that was cut when the federal government reduced Community Development Block Grant funding.

2. We have placed \$950,000 in the general fund financial plan for 2013 to identify a long term solution for shelter at the Fire Station 39 site. We support improving tent encampments. I am prepared to support investments earlier than 2013 if the City Council is prepared to move more quickly than that.

- We are making modest increases in the City's community granting programs and the low-income rental assistance program.

- We are keeping the current firefighting strength and preserving the resources assigned to neighborhood fire stations.

- We are supporting funding levels that have allowed the Seattle Police Department to not only meet but exceed the goals of the Neighborhood Policing Plan. This budget also preserves funding for Victim Advocates and the Crime Prevention Coordinators.

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- We are maintaining the current hours of operation for all 26 branches of the Seattle Public Library, and preserving the Library's collections budget at the 2012 Endorsed Budget levels.

1. We are keeping lifeguards on city beaches, keeps all swimming pools open, and maintaining 2011 service levels for wading pools.

2. We are maintaining our funding for job training and economic development, including our support for the Pathways to Careers program that supports the learning and training happening here at places like Seattle Central.

We're not just preserving important services. We are also investing in the things that connect people to jobs, maintain our infrastructure, connect our neighborhoods with better transit, and improve education for our youth and families.

Leveraging one-time revenues, we are investing over \$18 million in maintaining our public buildings and parks. That includes using \$9.8 million in Parks Levy savings to repair community centers and other recreational facilities. Another \$5.5 million will bring Building 30 in Magnuson Park up to code. \$1.9 million will repair the roof at six City-owned buildings that provide services to seniors, teen moms, the sick and the hungry.

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We worked hard with the Levy Oversight Committee and Councilmembers Sally Bagshaw and Nick Licata to get this done. Thank you.

This isn't just taking care of our facilities -- it's creating jobs right now.

We are increasing staff at the Department of Planning and Development to help builders get their permits completed more quickly, getting people back to work. Already we have seen an increase in Master Use Permits, and have at least 15 cranes around the city. Lots that have sat empty since the crash are seeing new construction. We have reduced the wait times for a permit from 9 weeks to 2 weeks. This investment will also help us support applications for innovative new "living buildings" that dramatically reduce energy and water consumption.

In addition to these actions, we have submitted a set of policy changes to council to get rid of obsolete regulations that inhibit smart and sustainable growth. In that regard, thank you Sally Clark for your work making it easier to for entrepreneurs to roll out more mobile food trucks. We're updating our green buildings code to promote energy efficient buildings, and the City is investing in making our own buildings more efficient. We are dedicated to taking action to support economic activity within our city.

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We are investing in maintaining our roads and preparing our bridges for winter. Earlier this year, the City sold a property known as the Rubble Yard to the state for \$19 million. In July I joined Council President Richard Conlin and Councilmembers Tom Rasmussen and Jean Godden to announce we would spend \$3 million of that money on street maintenance in 2011.

Today I am proposing to spend much of the remaining \$16 million in 2012 and 2013 on street maintenance, as well as on street cleaning and installing temperature sensors on bridges to help us manage traffic during winter storms.

We are also investing \$1.5 million from the Rubble Yard sale to start planning to connect our neighborhoods with high capacity transit, including rail. This year we've been updating the Transit Master Plan. What we found was that in a few short decades, 5 of the 15 corridors studied in the plan will have more riders than we can carry on conventional buses.

We have to find a way to meet this demand. As one example, the Transit Master Plan suggests that rail from Ballard to downtown can carry up to 26,000 riders – 12,500 of which would be new transit riders. By starting this planning now, we will be competitive for federal funds and can connect our neighborhoods sooner. And of course, high capacity transit projects also put people back to work.

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Some might say that this is not the right time for new transit investments. I agree. The right time was decades ago. If we wish to compete economically, we must reduce our city's reliance on expensive imported oil. If we wish to be bold in fighting global warming and adopt a goal of carbon neutrality, we must be bold on transit.

We are also investing in fiscal responsibility. The City of Seattle has earned a reputation for strong financial management, as reflected in its AAA bond rating – the highest bond rating available awarded by all three of the major bond rating agencies – Standard & Poor's, Moody's and Fitch. This top rating keeps the City's borrowing costs low, which is essential to preserving the size of the City's capital program.

But the rating agencies have been taking a closer look at the health of the City's reserves and retirement fund of late. They've indicated these areas are in need of some improvements if the City expects to retain these ratings. The Rainy Day Fund was reduced from \$30 million to \$10 million before I took office and the retirement fund was under funded. And we're taking action to correct both of these issues in this budget.

My budget acts to start closing the gap in our retirement system caused by losses in the financial markets. In accordance with industry standards, we are increasing our annual

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contributions to the full level that financial experts suggest. We will continue working to ensure we can meet pension obligations in the future.

And we will invest in our Rainy Day fund. By the time the 2010 budget was adopted the City spent down \$20 million of the Rainy Day Fund. Today, there's only \$11 million in the fund, or just 1.5% of General Fund tax revenues.

That is a risky place to be. If the fragile economy enters another recession, we won't have much savings to protect core services. And credit rating agencies may decide to downgrade our debt if they believe we don't have enough money in reserve. A downgrade means we would have to pay more interest on our loans. That would require us to make cuts to core services.

Earlier this year I sent to you a proposal to protect our AAA bond rating by changing how we replenish the Rainy Day Fund over time. My 2012 budget adds \$1.95 million, and assumes the City Council will adopt new policies that help ensure we have a healthy Rainy Day fund and retain the ability to use it when needed. Thank you, Councilmember Godden, for your help on the retirement and rainy day funds.

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My 2012 budget also includes a \$3.4 million reserve in case our revenue forecast gets worse later this year. We have all seen recent volatility in the economy and we need to be prepared that current revenue projections may not hold.

So, how did we preserve spending, and increase reserves, while also finding 18 million in spending reductions to balance our 2012 budget?

We challenged ourselves, our staff, and our departments to find savings by focusing on outcomes. Councilmember Burgess you have spoken and written eloquently on this topic. Focusing on outcomes means we had to change how we provided services, so that we could preserve direct services. That we had to look at the budget from the perspective of businesses, residents, and taxpayers, not from the perspective of government. That means not measuring how much we care about something by how much we spend on it. Instead, we have to measure how we change our community with those dollars. It means we have to put aside silos organized for government's convenience, and organize government for the convenience of the community. And we need to build partnerships with other governments, city employees, and the public.

One outcome we wanted was to not build a new jail in Seattle. When I ran, and when I took office, the City was considering building a \$200 million jail because King County would not take city misdemeanor violators any longer. I have always loved the Jesse

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Jackson line, "we should invest in Penn State, not the state pen." We're doing it here. We are not building a new jail. We have entered into a long term agreement with King County to share jail space, to work together to reduce jail populations, and, if for some reason we need to build a new jail in the future, to jointly work together on planning.

My staff initially told me that kind of deal was not possible, and we had to consider entering contracts with other cities and counties to ensure that our long-term capacity needs were met. I challenged them to push harder, and called Dow Constantine to ask him to push his staff to develop a good long-term plan that would provide the City with the long-term capacity it needed. He did, and we got a deal that worked for both of us. That agreement has been approved by our city council and is now in front of the King County Council for passage.

Because of that agreement, the 2012 Proposed Budget includes \$6 million in savings on jail costs. Seattle taxpayers can invest their dollars in projects that are a higher priority – like creating jobs, supporting our kids and maintaining the human services that people rely on more than ever during these tough economic times. Thank you Councilmembers for your unanimous vote to approve the agreement earlier this month. And, the King County Council is expected to approve the agreement shortly.

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We are focusing on outcomes by partnering with the city's public employee unions. In 2010 they came forward and agreed to lower their contractually required pay raise to help us protect services. That agreement is still paying off. Over 2011 and 2012, this agreement has saved the City \$12.2 million. City employees, thank you.

We are focusing on outcomes by partnering with labor unions to reduce our health care costs. I put together an interdepartmental team to figure out ways we could reduce health care costs without reducing actual healthcare benefits. By changing the way the City manages its insurance, beginning in 2013, the City estimates that it will save \$1 million to \$4 million annually in health care costs.

This is on top of the \$6.2 million the City is saving in 2012 as a result of lower-than-anticipated healthcare costs. Our employees are taking charge of their healthcare and its showing in our numbers. Today, 75% of all prescriptions filled are lower-cost generic drugs. This is up 19% from just four years ago. Thank you City labor unions, City employees and Council staff for working with us to lower healthcare costs.

We are focusing on outcomes by reducing our overtime costs. The City spends a lot of money paying out overtime. In many cases it's cheaper than hiring full-time staff. But, in some cases it was not. We found other ways to save money using the staff we already have.

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Let me give you an example: street marking crews. It's easier to apply street markings like crosswalks and lanes on the weekends because there's usually less traffic. But crews worked a Monday to Friday schedule, meaning they had to be paid overtime for working on the weekend.

We found a better way to manage schedules and save money. We now have crews scheduled on all seven days of the week. Some crews work a Tuesday to Saturday schedule, others work Sunday through Thursday. As a result, we've reduced our overtime costs by 95% for painting lane lines and crosswalks as compared to 2008.

At the Seattle Public Utilities, which manages our water and sewer systems, they have been able to reduce overtime costs by over 20% in 2011. Those savings add up. Thank you City employees for working with us to lower overtime costs.

We are focusing on outcomes by asking a simple question of more and more of our services: Are they producing the outcomes we expect and deserve? Are the programs we fund making a difference in people's lives? Do we have ways to measure these outcomes so that the public can hold service providers and government accountable - and so government can make smart budget decisions based on that data?

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The savings, the protection of core services, and the new investments in this budget are made possible by basing more of our programs on outcomes.

We're changing the way we manage and structure Human Services Department contracts to be focused on outcomes. Under the leadership of HSD Director Dannette Smith, we are restructuring the department and our contracts to a new model. An investor model.

The investor model is based on results. HSD will work with service providers to achieve good outcomes – and provide oversight to show whether they're being met. If they're not being met, we will reevaluate our approach and put that funding into programs that are proven to work.

We're focusing on outcomes by rolling out a pilot program to transition the City's investments in youth and families to a coordinated, outcome-based approach.

We spend over \$85 million a year on 130 programs in nine departments to support youth and families.

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We know how much we spend and we know how many people we service. What we do not know is how effective these investments are in achieving their intended outcomes for our youth and families.

Here's a good example. We know that if a student is not literate by the third grade, they are more likely to drop out of school.

The City of Seattle spends a lot of money on our investments in this area. But we have no way to tell whether they're actually working, because we have no way to measure success.

This budget includes a plan to start systematically measuring the results of City investments in education. We will start with a pilot project at Northgate Elementary to measure the success of City investments in achieving third-grade reading objectives.

The City Budget office, the Human Services Department's Family Services Center, the Office for Education, and the Department of Neighborhoods are already working together to develop this program. It will form the foundation of a broader outcome-based budgeting approach that the City can incorporate into other program areas in the future.

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Those outcome-based approaches are based on what we already do with the Families and Education Levy. Earlier this year, working with the Levy Oversight Committee and Councilmember Tim Burgess, we proposed to double the Families and Education Levy.

That's right, we're doubling it. Because right now is the time to invest in our children's future. We drew a line around Seattle and told Tim Eyman "you won't be able to destroy our schools. Not here. Not in Seattle."

The new Levy invests \$231 million over seven years, doubling the City's investments in outcome-based programs. The funds would support programs that help us:

- Improve children's readiness for school;
- Enhance students' academic achievement and reduce the academic achievement gap
- Decrease students' dropout rate and increase graduation from high school; and
- Prepare students for college and/or careers after high school.

You voted unanimously to put it on the ballot, and now it's up to the public, to decide.

We are focusing on outcomes with our new model to keep our community centers open. Until now a community center's hours and programs were determined based on a

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"cookie cutter" model designed by government. Now we're going to determine hours and programs based on when people want to use them.

We partnered with Councilmember Sally Bagshaw and Council staff, citizens, including teens and seniors, labor unions, and members of the Park Board to analyze data, hold public meetings, conduct a public survey, and design a new operating model for our community centers. Instead of measuring community centers by how many hours they are open, we are asking what hours and programs will serve the most people. That means some community centers will be open more hours, some less, each with a different and complementary set of programs and hours.

The new operating model has five geographically-based service areas, each with five community centers staffed by a team. Later this year we will go back to the community and ask them what programs they want to see, and what times during the day

We're partnering with the Associated Recreation Council will continue to provide child care and registered programming outside of the hours when a center is open for general public use. The new approach to Community Centers is expected to save the General Fund \$1.23 million each year. Thank you, Councilmember Bagshaw, for your work on our new community center model.

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We're focusing on outcomes by changing the way we administer our grants. Grants are one way the City partners with the community to invest in our future. Right now we have \$6.2 million in grant funding available - but we spend \$1.5 million on administration.

That's 23.5% of our overall grant funding.

We had to find a way to cut our costs so that we could maximize our efforts to support community projects and promote economic recovery.

We did that in this budget. A new Community Grant division will be created in the Department of Neighborhoods to consolidate the administration of grant functions, improve access to City funding and lower administrative costs. We will work to make it easier to apply for a grant. And the grant programs can more easily collaborate to support innovative projects that don't neatly fall into a single category.

These changes allow us to increase grant funding from \$6.2 million to \$6.4 million and reduces our administration costs to from \$1.5 million to \$1.1 million. That's a 17.8% ratio of overhead to grants. We save money for our budget, and put more money into the community's hands.

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We're also focusing on outcomes in housing and economic development. Stop and think about this for a moment. What are some of the important elements of a vibrant community? Housing and thriving businesses.

Our Office of Housing is a national model, doing great work investing our Levy dollars to create innovative affordable housing programs.

Our Office of Economic Development has done a great job carrying out the Seattle Jobs Plan. The Jobs Plan has retained or created over 3,000 jobs in Seattle since we launched it in August 2010.

Together these two offices have already collaborated very effectively on several projects. The planned redevelopment of the Police Department's East Precinct parking lot into a mixed-use, transit-oriented development to include affordable housing, retail, arts and community space is a good example of what the collaboration between the two agencies can accomplish.

In order to continue getting those outcomes, and to save money on administrative costs, my budget proposes merging these two offices into the Department of Housing and Economic Development. Steve Johnson has done a great job getting outcomes at OED, and I am confident in his ability to lead the new department with a strong emphasis on

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investing in affordable housing and projects that will put people back to work. This is something my staff and I have been discussing with you and your staff for some time now, as we worked out the best way to find these savings.

By making these changes, we will save \$338,000. \$210,000 of this savings will be spent on direct housing programs. Low-income renters have been squeezed because of declining apartment vacancy rates, which in turn raises rents. So we will focus much of that new funding on programs that help low-income renters.

Some may question whether that's worth the effort. These savings add up. But more importantly, they put us on the path to more savings in the future. Last year Council approved my recommended merger of the Department of Executive Administration and the Fleets and Facilities Department into the Department of Finance and Administrative Services. As the new department has worked together they have found more ways they can save money and improve their operations, allowing FAS to achieve \$1.6 million in additional savings in 2012.

We are also moving to an outcome-based approach to protecting public safety. Under the leadership of Chief John Diaz, the Seattle Police Department is doing a good job of fighting crime, and working with the community to identify how we can make our communities safer.

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During last year's budget, you voted unanimously to freeze the hiring of new police officers in order to help us close a \$67 million deficit.

What happened? The data shows us that Seattle has the lowest crime rate in 55 years. Homicides are down 34% since 2008. Through June 2011, major crimes are down citywide by 11% when compared with the first six months of 2010. Violent crime is down 1% compared with the same time period in 2010. Property crimes are down 12%.

We found that we could meet and even exceed outcome targets you adopted in the Neighborhood Policing Plan without hiring new officers. The Neighborhood Policing Plan sets a goal of responding to priority calls in 7 minutes or less. Through June 2011, the most recent data we have available, we are exceeding that goal as average response time is 6.3 minutes. This is a 12.5% improvement since 2008.

An important goal of the NPP is to increase the amount of time per shift officers spend patrolling the neighborhood and looking for problems to solve — "proactive time" — to 30%. We've exceeded that goal too. Proactive time is now 34%.

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SPD started the year with more officers than were in the budget, it has not hired to replace departing officers. As a result, SPD expects to end 2011 with 1,301 sworn officers, or 26 below the level assumed in the 2011 Adopted Budget.

The 2012 Proposed Budget reduces funding to SPD by \$2.4 million to reflect the smaller police force that will result from not filling those 26 vacancies. This will preserve funding for all currently filled sworn officer positions. It will also allow the City to maintain its commitment to the Crime Prevention Coordinators and Victim Advocates.

Council member Harrell, you will be pleased to know we have commitment to a body camera pilot in this budget. It will also allow SPD to begin hiring for vacancies that occur in 2012 in order to maintain a force of 1,301.

Chief John Diaz is finding ways to put officers where they are needed most to fight and, more importantly, prevent crime. For 2011, a minimum of 545 sworn officers have been assigned to 911 patrol. This is above the staffing level of 542 in January 2010 and slightly below the all-time high of 556 achieved in the summer of 2010.

We have dedicated more officers to on-the-ground police work. We added more officers to foot beats and added more officers to bike squads. We created Late Night Public Safety Emphasis Patrols, teams of 15 to 25 officers that targeted areas with high concentrations of people enjoying nightlife opportunities. We are able to increase

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patrols at Cal Anderson Park, in Belltown, at 3rd and Pine, and elsewhere in the city as needed.

But we're not approaching the police budget by asking how many officers we need. We're approaching it by asking what are the most efficient ways to achieve our outcomes - in this case, keeping the public safe.

In this regard, public safety means much more than the number of police officers. It means funding our Youth Violence Prevention efforts, which we have done. It means maintaining funding for human services, which we have done. It also means new partnerships to identify the root causes of crime and insecurity and address them.

Let me give you an example. Up in Belltown, we recently discovered that 54 people frequently seen there have been arrested over 2700 times.

This is not a problem of having sufficient officers down there to arrest people. If it was a matter of arrests, we would have solved this a couple thousand arrests ago.

So we have put together a team that includes the Seattle Police Department, the Human Services Department, the City Budget Office, and housing providers to collect and examine data, analyze these patterns, and search for solutions.

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Another example, we've had success pulling together teams from the city to work with the community in places like 23rd and Union. The Safer Union Project started with the Drug Market Initiative to deter drug dealing. We then involved the Office of Economic Development to bring together businesses to own the streets with positive improvements, supported by the Department of Neighborhoods, Seattle Public Utilities and the Seattle Department of Transportation. We've seen changes there, and we're bringing this approach to more neighborhoods.

SPD's command staff have met recently with Professor David Weisburd to discuss a long term research relationship with us. Dr. Weisburd, who is a leading national authority on hot spot policing, conducted much of his original research through a collaborative agreement with SPD. Together we will explore a variety of approaches for dealing both with juvenile crime as well as street disorder issues. This falls in line with our consistent efforts to utilize evidence-based models and outcome-based metrics to guide change.

We will continue this work in 2012.

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Today I have described how we will close the deficit. and balance our budget for 2012.

But I have also laid out the concrete steps we will take to protect core services
and invest in our future.

We will prepare our children for the future by focusing our spending in ways that make a
difference in the lives of children and families.

We will protect the vulnerable by maintaining our commitment to human services.

We will maintain and expand our investments in job training, housing and economic
development. We will focus our resources on reducing barriers to smart economic
growth and continue to support incentives for creating the new green economy.

We will maintain our commitment to public safety, and continue innovative approaches
that recognizes that public safety is more than police officers and jail beds, it is
partnering with the community to focus on root causes and prevent crime.

We will preserve our physical assets, and plan for new infrastructure investments like
transit to help make us environmentally sustainable and economically competitive.

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We will work to build reserves to face an uncertain future.

We will continue partnering with the community on the best approach to solve our problems.

It's a simple choice we face in difficult economic times.

One is the low road, and we see those urging it at the federal and state levels. Cut benefits and services to those in need. Make it harder for children to access education, libraries and parks. Make travel more expensive by failing to invest in transit. Kick the can down the road on looming issues, and push environmental costs onto the next generation. Leave them to figure out how to deal with it.

You know, Seattle will never prevail in a competitive global economy by pursuing the low road -- low standards, low wages, low services, low quality. We can't beat cities in other nations by trying to win a race to the bottom. We can't do it. It's not in us.

We're going to take the high road.

We'll compete and win in the world economy, if our kids are smarter, and safer, and confident they have a future. We're going to compete because we make sure that

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everyone has an equal opportunity to share in the prosperity and opportunity. We'll compete because we support innovation in our existing industries, we support creative new businesses, and we keep providing incentives for the new green economy that others will want to copy. We'll compete because we build communities that people want to move to, and we'll build the housing and transit and infrastructure to accommodate them.

The high road confronts racial and economic injustice, it confronts environmental challenges, it confronts economic stagnation with a vision of education, innovation and widening the circle of prosperity.

That's the high road. And I look forward to traveling it with you. Thank you.